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Here we find more than \$26,000,000 spent upon the war-system, and probably less than one-eighth of this sum for necessary and useful purposes.

IN 1838, DURING THE FIRST THREE QUARTERS.

|   |              |
|---|--------------|
| Civil list, foreign intercourse, and miscellaneous, . . . . . | \$4,029,674  |
| Military purposes, . . . . .                                  | 15,731,323   |
| Navy, . . . . .   | 4,325,563    |
| Total for all purposes, . . . . .                             | \$28,427,218 |

The round estimate for the remaining quarter is \$12,000,000 ; and, if the war-expenses have been in the same proportion, we have wasted the last year about \$27,000,000 upon this system of violence and blood ; more than *thirty times* as much as the average annual expenses for the civil operations of our government from 1791 to 1832. We leave the reader to make his own comments, and draw inferences for himself.

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#### AN ADDRESS,

*Delivered before the Peace Society of Amherst College, July 4, 1838, by*  
*Rev. R. P. STEBBINS.*

Peace Societies have been organized in most of the New England colleges ; and we are glad to see our friends in the flourishing seminary at Amherst setting an example so worthy of universal imitation as that of devoting our national anniversary to the cause of peace. We trust their example will be followed until peace, instead of war, shall be, throughout our land, the inspiring theme on every return of that day ; and if they should always be so fortunate in the selection of an advocate, we are quite sure they will find no difficulty in sustaining the interest of such an annual celebration.

The address before us is worthy of being transferred entire to our pages ; but we can give only a brief analysis, and a few extracts. It first illustrates *the impolicy of war*, but dwells chiefly on *the inconsistency of war with Christianity*, as “opposites in the sentiments which they cherish, in the principles of moral obligation which they establish, and in the standard of true greatness which they erect ;” points

illustrated with great force, and put beyond the possibility of doubt in any candid mind.

MISTAKEN MEANS OF PEACE.

"Whatever may be true in respect to the benefit of a standing army to preserve internal peace in despotic governments, in our own, a military establishment, especially a militia system, would be of no avail. The very soldiers would be a part of the people, and they would be the very ones on whom this iron police ought to operate; the very ones to feel the effect of a power which they alone possess, and which, of course, they would not put forth to their own ruin. The idea that we need an army, an organized militia, to preserve internal peace, is no less preposterous, than that we need an astronomer to regulate the sun. And yet in old Massachusetts, we pay more than thirty thousand dollars annually, out of the public treasury, for the support of the militia, to protect you and me from our neighbors. Yes, you were spurned, when you kneeled at the door of the legislature, and begged for a covering to shelter you, when you asked for food for the mind, when you asked for the means of exalting the immortal spirit into communion with truth, while we pay thirty thousand dollars every year, for polishing swords, grinding bayonets, and scouring cannon! Spirit of freedom, where art thou fled! Genius of literature, which divided the children's bread to build a school-house in the wilderness, hast thou left these hills for ever! I am not speaking of fancies of my own. I am stating naked truths; truths which you here feel. I would give more for one school-house to protect my rights against force, than for a regiment of soldiers; I would give more for one young man, well educated within these halls, to protect me against violence, than for a troop of lancers. Force in our country is powerless. Truth is omnipotent; and on it alone can we rely.

Spend the money, which we now squander for warlike preparation, in educating the hundred thousand voters who cannot read the constitution of our country, nor write their own names, and we should then be safe. Better sell our arsenals and muskets, our warships and swords, and buy spelling-books, and turn our generals and commodores into school-masters, if we wish to prepare for, and keep peace, than increase our army and navy as we are doing. I never had a doubt but that in our quarrel with France, we should have had war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt, had we been ready for it. Had our coast been lined with ships of war, like blood hounds ready to slip from the leash, the deep would now be reverberating with the roar of our cannon, and be stained with the blood of our fathers and brothers. Our commanders knew we should be beaten for five years if we began, and they had no desire to fight unless they could reap a rich harvest of glory. To prevent war, be unprepared for it; so when the passions are up, they will have time to subside, ere we can act. A warlike spirit and preparation is the most active and deadly foe of peace. Who is the peaceful man; he who carries his dirk and pistols, or he who is unarmed, and careful in the discharge of his duties? Is not the man with a bowie knife looking out for insult, seeking for an opportunity to show his

courage? Who are the quarrelsome members of society? Are they not our boxers and fighters? In what neighborhood would you prefer to live for safety's sake; in that where knives and dirks were worn and used, or in that where no such weapons were named or known? The spirit of war—the military spirit, is the one for us to fear; it is the one which will plunge us into blood.

The boast which war makes, that it defends us from insult and attack from abroad, is equally false as the assertion, that it preserves peace at home. What nation has been prepared for war, which has not had war? The best preparations are attended, on the part of those who make and possess them, with a desire to use them; and so far are they, as we have already observed, from protecting us, that they excite us to try our power, and show how brave we are. Besides, to attack a nation which is well defended, if there be a possibility of success, or even of a noble failure, is a greater glory than to beat down the defenceless, and tread upon the fallen. Nothing but the deepest meanness could induce a nation to attack a defenceless people, whose only preparation for insult was a spirit of forgiveness, whose only return for wrong was a kiss. No laurels would be gathered on such a field as this, and the commander who should be sent to crush to the dust such a people, would shoot himself for shame. It is not in human nature, unless sunk to the lowest depth of infamy and debasement, to insult and mock and destroy the weak and defenceless. Innocence is clothed with triple steel. I say, then, that war and all its boasted heraldry, is a poor and weak means of protection from abroad. Justice is stronger than ramparts; innocence is mightier than armies; forgiveness is fleetier than swift ships. Let nations guard themselves with these virtues,—let them not prepare to deluge the land with blood upon every trivial, supposed insult, and the east and west would join hands together, and sit down in peace under the olive tree."

#### WAR IN CONTRAST WITH THE GOSPEL.

"War tells us to cherish hatred towards those whom Christianity commands us to love. What would be said to you by an army, were you to exhort them, upon the eve of a battle, to love their enemies, to cherish feelings of good-will towards those whom they were about to destroy? Would not many a lip of scorn be curled at your weakness and folly? Would you not be told that such doctrine would do for the church, not for the battle-field,—for cravens, not men,—for pietists, not heroes? Would not the commander-in-chief order you to be seized for preaching treachery to his troops?"

I ask again, where in the code of war do you find the broad, deep, unbounded love of the New Testament inculcated to the soldiery? Are they not commanded to kill their foes? Are they not permitted, yea, taught, to wreak their vengeance on their enemies? Of what nature is that spirit, which burns in the bosoms of those who fight for hire—and most who do fight are thus situated,—who sell themselves to the highest bidder to be shot at, and shoot at others for a few cents a day? What is the feeling predominant in the bosoms of those young heroes who rush to the sound of slaughter, wherever it may be heard? Is it the spirit of love, the feeling of forgiveness?

Can there be love, love that endureth all things, and thinketh no evil, in the bosom of that man who returns from the field exulting in the death of his foe? Go to the army, and hear the prayers that are there offered, and tell me what spirit he is of, who prays that the aim of the musket may secure its victim, and the roar of the cannon be the requiem of thousands, and the sea weeds be the winding-sheet of men? Are these the sentiments of Christianity? Is this the spirit which it inculcates? Far from it. It was the spirit of our great exemplar, to ask his Father's blessing, not his curse, upon his foes. Hear him pour forth his deep sympathy for Jerusalem. He prayed for those who nailed him to the cross. This is the spirit of Christianity; those the feelings which it cherishes; those the sentiments which it utters. But in war the maddest passions must be waked and kept excited, the most revengeful feelings be set on fire, and kept burning. This is not the place to quote from history, to prove this to be the fact in respect to war. I am speaking to those who know what the records of human strife say upon this subject. And to you I appeal fearlessly—I ask without a doubt respecting the answer you will give. Is not this statement true? The page is black with a description of the worst passions—the annals of war, are one continued record of burning hate, revenge and enmity festering in the bosom, or exerting their desolating power abroad upon the foe.”

“How can love consist in doing harm, unmixed harm? ‘Love,’ says Paul, ‘worketh no ill to its neighbor.’ Did not Christ rebuke the disciples who wished to call down fire on the village of Samaria? Did he ever encourage them to do evil, to perform deeds of the utmost malignity, that they might thereby cherish feelings of love, long-suffering and kindness? Such a doctrine never fell from his lips. It is contrary to philosophy both human and divine. What! encourage men to mangle and hew each other to pieces to cherish the spirit of love! Lead out men to fight, array them face to face, teach them to call each other hard names, to gash and shoot each other, to make them forgiving, tender-hearted! Tell it not to human beings that men who are stabbing the heart, who are plunging the bayonet into the bosoms of their fellow-men, are filled with love.”

“The *trade* of the warrior is to injure; his sworn duty is to harm; his office, to destroy. It may be said, and probably will be said, that this evil is done that good may come out of it. Do evil that good may come! Not so thought Paul. This is the rule of Christianity, do good, good only, unmixed good. Does one change the ground of debate, and say, that it is no evil to war? We reply, the very argument we are now urging, shows it to be an evil; for it is doing harm, not good to those who injure us. This is the avowed, the declared purpose of war. It is to harm, to injure, to kill. It is to desolate the fruitful field; to return famine instead of harvest; blood instead of treasure, to the laborer. Follow with me the track of a victorious army. Why do I call it victorious? Because desolation, misery and death are in its path. See the fertile fields waste, the ravaged village smouldering in ruins; birds of prey uttering their cries, hastening to devour; children flying, imploring the protection of their pale and trembling mothers who are themselves

exposed to the brutality of the soldiers, and fear life more than death; sons gnawing the ground in the agony of the death-struggle; fathers lifting up imploring hands for protection, only to be pinned to the earth with the bayonet; husbands begging for a drop of water, or praying to be run through with the sword, to relieve them from their misery, their excruciating torture; groans from the mangled, and wails from the expiring. This is war; these are the deeds of love which are performed on the battle-field; this is the mercy which exercises its kind offices in war; this is the forgiveness which soldiers offer to their enemies."

"Go with me to the field of battle, and tell me if it is not an arena of the worst passions which burn in the human bosom; tell me if Christ's religion teaches men to do this; tell me if he taught the sword to devour, the fire to burn, the bullet to mangle God's image; tell me if loving ever covered a field with slaughter, with the dead and dying; if praying for those who injure us ever carried pain to the domestic circle, and caused widows and orphans to pour forth tears like water. Go with me to the hospitals, and see the misery which war brings with it, and tell me whether it be an angel from heaven or a fiend from the pit; tell me whether Christianity ever achieved such deeds of darkness, spread such a curtain of sackcloth over human prospects!"

"Look at that majestic ship, 'walking like a thing of life,' upon the bosom of the ocean, its sails all white as love, kissing the sky. See the thousand human beings on board, their bosoms swelling high with hope, their hearts beating with pride. In the distance, a flag is seen streaming upon the edge of the waters. It is the enemy's. The running to and fro—the bustle—the confusion—the imprecations upon the foe—the oath—the curse—tell what deeds of darkness are to be done. One short hour is enveloped in smoke, and that beautiful ship is sinking beneath the waves. Its snowy canvass is torn and stripped—its deck slippery with human blood—fragments of human bodies strewn every where—the sea is crimson with the current of life—the cockpit filled with those who are worse than dead, enduring every extremity of torture. Now a smile of joy lights up the distorted features of these mangled victims; word is passed that the enemy's ship is foundering—a shout of victory goes up from those parched and dying lips, and they go down, victor and vanquished, a thousand fathoms into the boiling ocean. What a triumph this! What a work is this for Christian hands to be engaged in! What a dying hour is this for a disciple of the Prince of peace! What a rejoicing is this to be uttered by the lips of one who professes to be a follower of him who, when reviled, reviled not again! What a condition in which to meet him who died for his foes! Need I pause to ask whether feelings which produce such actions, which call forth such sentiments, which can triumph in another's misery and ruin, are in accordance with the spirit of Christianity which commands us to forgive our enemies, as we hope to be forgiven of God; which tells us to pray for those who despitefully use us, and persecute us? Christianity cannot be uttered in the same breath with war, without sullyng its unspotted purity."

Here are specimens of the address before us; and we are happy to inform our readers that such bold and eloquent advocates of peace

are fast increasing in our country. Not a few of them, our author among the rest, are expected to enrich our pages with their contributions; and we trust the day is not far distant when our cause shall rally in its support the master-minds of all Christendom, and its whole literature shall become a literature of peace, purity and love.

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#### CORRESPONDENCE.

*Extracts from a letter of Rev. J. HARGREAVES, Cor. Sec. of the London Peace Society, to WILLIAM LADD, Esq.*

WALTHAM ABBEY, Sept. 12, 1838.

Last April I delivered lectures in some principal towns, viz., Hertford, Baldruck, Gainsborough, Doncaster and Hull. They were well attended, and well received, and seemed to make a good and strong impression. The Friends in Baldruck subsequently sent me a letter, accompanied with a vote of thanks, numerously signed, expressing their approbation. The signatures included Churchmen, Methodists, Independents, and those of note in society. At Doncaster, the attendance was the largest; and at the close of the lecture, a clergyman rose to offer some objections, but was prevented by the meeting. We parted to meet the next day for discussion; but when he came, he declined to enter verbally upon the subject, and gave me his remarks in writing. These, with my reply, subsequently appeared in the public papers. During that journey, I had an opportunity, as an entire stranger, of vindicating the peace principle in a steam vessel, before a large company that opposed it, and have reason to hope that good was done. Opponents sometimes become converts, if not at the moment, yet afterwards. Mr. Beverly (a considerable author), I recollect, once at Scarborough, raised the same objections to my views as the clergyman at Doncaster; but he now, in his writings, vindicates our views. The cause is progressing, and I think much more rapidly, than at any former period. Mr. Harris, the author of a most popular work called *Mammon* (a prize essay), has spoken in its favor. Mr. Williams, also, advocates its principles. He is, perhaps, the most celebrated, if not the most useful, missionary of the present times. He labors in the South Sea Islands. Mr. Medhurst, missionary from China, has also to me given his sentiments in our favor. He also advocated the cause at our last annual meeting. The *Patriot* newspaper admits into its columns a defence of the Peace Society. The *Evangelical Magazine*, which I have previously considered as closed against us, has admitted this month an article containing fourteen questions, which appear condemnatory of war, remarking, however, that on these inquiries they express no opinion. The *Baptist Magazine* for this month has also an article highly favorable to the pacific principle. The committee have long been seeking for a suitable person to lecture, establish auxiliaries, and revive those already in existence. Mr. David Moses is now employed by them on probation. He has delivered several lectures in the vicinity of London, of which I have heard a favorable account.

Raising your standard will promote the cause, as it will provoke opposition, and promote discussion. But it should be raised, not on account only, or chiefly, of its aiding the *cause*, but because truth requires it, let consequences be what they may.

Dr. Allen's opposition will do good, and cause many to think who perhaps would not, without that stimulus, have ever taken the matter into their con-